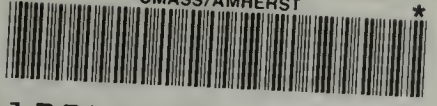


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FOR RELEASE
THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1987
9:30 A.M.

STATEMENT BY
CHANCELLOR JOSEPH DUFFEY
UPON RECEIPT OF REPORT
BY JUDGE FREDERICK HURST

GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS
COLLECTION

Mr. HURST WAS ASKED

BY CHANCELLOR DUFFEY IN NOVEMBER

University of Massachusetts
Library Copy

TO CONDUCT AN INQUIRY INTO THE EVENTS

INVOLVED IN A STUDENT BRAWL WHICH OCCURRED
FOLLOWING THE FINAL GAME OF THE WORLD SERIES

THOSE WHO ENGAGED IN RACIAL ATTACKS ON BLACK STUDENTS
FOLLOWING THE FINAL GAME OF THE WORLD SERIES DO NOT REPRESENT
THE SENTIMENT OR SPIRIT OF THIS CAMPUS. IT IS APPARENT TO
ANY OBSERVER THAT STUDENTS OF DIFFERING RACIAL BACKGROUNDS
LIVE AND WORK TOGETHER HERE WITH GENUINE RESPECT AND APPRE-
CIATION FOR EACH PERSON'S DISTINCTIVE QUALITIES AND HERITAGE.

AND YET THE HOODLUM ACTIONS OF A FEW YOUNG MEN CONTINUE
TO PLACE THIS UNIVERSITY IN THE PUBLIC EYE. I KNOW THAT
THESE EVENTS AND THEIR INTERPRETATION CONCERN ALL OF OUR
STUDENTS, AND MOST ESPECIALLY THOSE WHO LIVE IN THE SOUTH

WEST ARE RESIDENCES. I KNOW THAT OUR STUDENTS SHARE MY DETERMINATION NOT TO DENY OR IGNORE THE IMPLICATIONS OF ANY ACT OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND BIGOTRY. FOR THIS REASON I ASKED JUDGE HURST TO CONDUCT THIS INQUIRY AND TO MAKE PUBLIC HIS REPORT.

THIS UGLY EVENT AND THE BEHAVIOR OF A FEW WILL NOT DETER OUR CONTINUING DETERMINATION TO BUILD A DIVERSE, PLURALISTIC COMMUNITY OF LEARNING AND OPPORTUNITY. WE WILL NOT TURN OUR BACKS OR IGNORE THE LOOSENING OF THE BONDS OF CIVILITY AND TOLERANCE ANYWHERE IN OUR SOCIETY.

MR. HURST'S RECOMMENDATIONS WILL BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY. THERE ARE LESSONS HERE AND NEW REMINDERS OF RESPONSIBILITIES FOR THE ADMINISTRATION, FOR FACULTY, AND FOR OUR STUDENT LEADERS AS WELL AS FOR EVERY STUDENT ON THIS CAMPUS.

I WILL GIVE SERIOUS AND EXTENDED CONSIDERATION TO STAFF AND ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES NEEDED TO MEET OUR RESPONSIBILITIES TO HELP INSURE THAT THIS CAMPUS IS A PLACE WHERE THE DIVERSITY OF AMERICAN SOCIETY IS RESPECTED. I HOPE MEMBERS OF OUR COMMUNITY WILL CONVEY TO ME THROUGH MEMBERS OF THE CIVILITY COMMISSION SUGGESTIONS TO IMPROVE LINES OF COMMUNICATION.

* * * * *

I WILL TAKE THE FOLLOWING STEPS:

1. EFFORTS TO BRING LEGAL ACTION AGAINST STUDENTS WHO ENGAGED IN ASSAULTS DURING THE INCIDENT WILL CONTINUE. ONE STUDENT HAS FACED CIVIL CHARGES IN HAMPSHIRE DISTRICT COURT. THAT STUDENT HAS BEEN DISMISSED FROM THE UNIVERSITY.

WHILE A NUMBER OF STUDENTS HAVE IDENTIFIED MEN WHO ENGAGED IN ASSAULT AND THE DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY ON THE EVENING OF THESE EVENTS, VERY FEW STUDENTS HAVE EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO PROVIDE TESTIMONY NECESSARY FOR COURT PROCEEDINGS.

I HAVE SPOKEN WITH HAMPSHIRE COUNTY DISTRICT ATTORNEY MICHAEL RYAN AND INDICATED THAT I WILL ASK HIM TO NAME A SPECIAL INVESTIGATOR TO INTERVIEW STUDENTS INVOLVED IN THE EVENTS TO DETERMINE WHETHER EVIDENCE CAN BE GATHERED TO BRING ACTIONS FOR VIOLATION OF CIVIL OR CRIMINAL STATUTES. ONCE AGAIN, I URGE STUDENTS WHO HAVE IDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED TO COOPERATE WITH THIS FURTHER INVESTIGATION.

2. A NUMBER OF PROGRAMS AND EDUCATIONAL SESSIONS INVOLVING ISSUES OF RACIAL TOLERANCE AND THE OBLIGATIONS OF LIFE IN A FREE AND PLURALISTIC SOCIETY TAKE PLACE ON OUR CAMPUS EVERY YEAR. THIS SPRING WE WILL INCREASE OUR EFFORTS AT THESE PROGRAMS. I AM ASKING STUDENT LEADERS IN EVERY RESIDENTIAL AREA TO ORGANIZE SPECIAL PROGRAMS DURING THE COMING MONTHS. THEIR EFFORTS WILL HAVE THE FULL SUPPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATION.

3. I HAVE MET WITH MEMBERS OF OUR RESIDENCE HALLS STAFF TO URGE THEM TO EXAMINE RULES GOVERNING THE USE OF ALCOHOL ON CAMPUS AND TO RECOMMEND TO ME REVISIONS IN OUR CODE OF STUDENT CONDUCT GOVERNING THE USE AND ABUSE OF ALCOHOL. I HAVE URGED ALL MEMBERS OF OUR STAFF CONCERNED WITH STUDENT CONDUCT TO INITIATE DISCIPLINARY PROCEEDINGS AGAINST STUDENTS WHO HABITUALLY ABUSE ALCOHOL AND PROMISED MY FULL SUPPORT IN MAKING CLEAR THAT WE WILL HOLD STUDENTS RESPONSIBLE FOR ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOR IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES.

FINALLY, I WANT TO SAY, FIRST, A WORD TO WHITE STUDENTS ON OUR CAMPUS:

STUDENTS AT THIS UNIVERSITY ARE NOTED FOR THEIR EXUBERANCE IN THE CLASS ROOM AND IN EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES. MANY ARE PROUD OF THEIR SOCIAL AWARENESS. TODAY WE FACE A NEW CHALLENGE; TO REAFFIRM OUR COMMITMENT TO THE MOST BASIC PRINCIPLES OF GOOD WILL AND HUMAN CONCERNS FOR OTHERS. WE ALL SHARE AN OBLIGATION TO COMBAT RACISM IN ANY FORM, TO SPEAK OUT WHEN WE WITNESS SPEECH OR ACTS WHICH REFLECT INTOLERANCE.

AND TO THE YOUNG BLACK MEN AND WOMEN WHO STUDY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS, MANY OF WHOM I HAVE MET AND

TALKED WITH IN RECENT WEEKS I WANT TO EXPRESS THE COMMITMENT OF THIS ADMINISTRATION AND OUR STUDENT BODY TO PROVIDING A SAFE AND WELCOMING ENVIRONMENT. WE VALUE THE CONTRIBUTION OF ALL OUR STUDENTS. WE WILL WORK TO SEE THAT THE THREATENING EVENTS OF OCTOBER 27TH DO NOT OCCUR AGAIN IN OUR COMMUNITY.

* * * * *

I WANT TO EXPRESS TO MR. HURST MY APPRECIATION FOR HIS SERVICE TO OUR CAMPUS. HIS PREFACE TO THIS REPORT ACKNOWLEDGES MANY OF THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THIS UNIVERSITY IN OUR EFFORTS TO BUILD A PLACE OF ENLIGHTENMENT AND OPPORTUNITY. IN ASKING FOR THIS "OUTSIDERS" LOOK AT SOME CONTINUING PROBLEMS MY GOAL WAS NOT TO ENGAGE IN RITUALISTIC BREASTBEATING BUT RATHER TO BEGIN TO ACKNOWLEDGE SOME SHORTCOMINGS AND PROBLEMS WHICH WE MUST FACE IF WE ARE TO MEET OUR RESPONSIBILITIES TO THE FUTURE.

REPORT ON
UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS
INVESTIGATION

FREDERICK A. HURST, ESQ.
Massachusetts Commission
Against Discrimination
145 State Street
Springfield, MA 01103

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A. ADL Report

B. Map of SWRA

UMASS REPORT

INTRODUCTION - THE PROCESS

On October 27, 1986, after the final game of the World Series between the New York Mets and the Boston Red Sox, an incident involving white and black students occurred on the Amherst campus of the University of Massachusetts (UMASS). This incident was characterized by some as a student brawl and by others as a racial confrontation.

Amid growing controversy UMASS Chancellor Joseph Duffey contacted me and asked that I conduct an independent investigation into the events surrounding the incident.

In a memo characterizing his expectations of the investigation, Chancellor Duffey said:

I anticipate that we will not come out of this process with a thorough, comprehensive detailed report of what happened that evening. I am not sure that anyone can reconstruct the events in that way. We should have some sense of fact and perception (or perceptions) of what occurred, including victims, student security people, police and others. Certainly among those interviewed should be the victims of the events that occurred.

Accordingly, this was not meant to be and is not a detailed blow-by-blow statement of what happened that evening. In fact, although I interviewed a broad cross-section of people, I found nobody who had the exact same story from beginning to end. In order

PREFACE

It would be a mistake for anyone reading this report to conclude that the problems at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst (UMASS) are any worse than problems in most other universities throughout the country. To the contrary, my investigation and report should be seen as a continuing effort on the part of a progressive university to grapple with the complicated problems caused by racial intolerance and insensitivity on its campus and in our society at large. For that effort, UMASS should be encouraged and commended. One must not forget or take lightly the fact that this is the same UMASS that has an Afro-American Studies Department with degree programs and tenured black faculty, including the chairman. It is the same UMASS that has a special academic counseling program for its black students, and a pre-college program for black high school students which encourages and prepares them to attend UMASS upon graduation. It is the same UMASS that in the face of much criticism, hosted the leader of Zimbabwe and whose library hosts the papers of W. E. B. Dubois and which has hired James Baldwin and other renowned black scholars on its faculty. It is the same UMASS that has a large Afro-American facility to house black programs, a funded Third World organization and an active black student recruitment program. It is the same UMASS that leads many in the country in a movement toward a genuinely pluralistic campus. Most of the problems revealed in this report emerged as natural by-products of that effort. Any student of change understands and expects to have to solve the unpredictable and inevitable by-products of desirable change. Because Chancellor Duffey boldly chose to flush the problems of UMASS into the open in an attempt to solve them in a genuine desire to regenerate and continue the momentum toward a pluralistic university, no one should make the error of concluding that his problems are larger than theirs. I suggest that the opposite may be true. His problems are on the road to becoming smaller. The problem will continue to grow for those heads of universities who choose inaction.

I will be distressed if this report is misused by small minds to indict the university or its leader. The consensus of students, faculty and staff is that, generally speaking, UMASS provides a good growth environment. We need more university leaders able and willing to confront the complex problems that attach to sincere efforts to unravel the barriers to racial harmony.

to arrive at a relatively complete story I found it necessary to divide my investigation and those interviewed according to clearly definable segments which made up the incident.

I must emphasize that, unless the report states otherwise, every statement in it regarding what happened was independently corroborated. Furthermore, I deliberately sought corroboration of controversial points made by white students from black students and vice versa. If something negative was said about a person's role in the incident, I tried to get corroboration through a friend of that person or from someone with whom the person could be expected to have a natural affinity.

I necessarily took a bit more license when it came to the "why" of the events of the evening since different people viewing the same set of facts can draw different inferences.

My original intention was to investigate the events of that evening and then to determine if a broader investigation was needed. It became clear immediately that a broader investigation would be needed. I found it necessary to conduct a review of the post-event investigation by the security police as well as the post-event response by the administration. As a final step, it was necessary to review all three in the context of recent UMASS history, which, as it became clear, had influenced the behavior of some of the participants and reinforced the stories of others.

As part of my report, I also agreed to make some recommendations, which I have done. These recommendations are a combination of my own and those suggested to me by others on and off the UMASS campus.

Several days after I agreed to conduct the investigation, I received a call from Leonard Zakim, the Boston based Northeastern Region Executive Director of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), and Sally Greenberg, Director of its Civil Rights Unit. They kindly offered to assist me in my investigation. They felt that historical contacts which they had developed at UMASS remained intact and could be used to expedite my investigation. Because I felt a need to remain totally independent and because I sensed that my investigation was itself a test of the UMASS environment, I preferred not to accept assistance; however, we agreed that it might be helpful if ADL conducted a mini-investigation of its own by visiting UMASS and talking with old contacts. Sally Greenberg made a one day visit to UMASS and emerged with a surprisingly accurate report. After reviewing that report, I decided to include it as an attachment to this report, (see Attachment A), and to reference it in the recommendation section.

Background of the Investigation

On November 14, 1986, at a meeting with the Chancellor and

relevant staff, it was agreed that I would conduct my investigation of the incident through the office of the Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs by interviewing people involved in the incident. These interviews were to be scheduled by the Special Assistant to the Vice Chancellor of that office.

All present, including the Chancellor, Vice Chancellor and the Special Assistant to the Vice Chancellor, agreed that it was important that the investigation proceed quickly and vigorously since more than two weeks had already expired since the incident and many people were impatient for results. The Vice Chancellor's office was to schedule interviews with students, staff and faculty who had direct knowledge of the evening's events.

It was specifically agreed that among those to be interviewed would be Resident Directors (R.D.'s), Resident Assistants (R.A.'s), Security Personnel (student and non-student), non-staff black and white students who were directly involved and football players who, it had been rumored, played a role in the incident.

It was also agreed that I would interview all day Tuesday and Tuesday evening, one half day Wednesday and all day Friday, if necessary, after which I was to make a decision as to whether more interviews were necessary.

Early in the investigation it became clear to me that the

process was not working. During the three interviewing days of that first week, I had accomplished little. Most of my time was either not scheduled or wasted by cancelled appointments. I found it necessary to extend the investigation.

By the end of the second week, with a few exceptions, the only people I had interviewed were employed by the University. Even so, some of the employees most directly involved were not available for interviews including key security people. Also, white and black students directly involved in the incident, including members of the football team, had not been made available to me. In the meeting with the Chancellor, the football team had been singled out for a telephone call from the Vice Chancellor's office.

In fact, it would not be until about three weeks later, after several missed appointments, that I was able to interview four football players. To a person they told me they were not informed that they should meet with me during that first week, and that even when they were finally informed, it was without a sense of urgency.

On December 5, three weeks after my investigation had begun, at its request, I met with the University's Civility Commission, a representative group of faculty, staff and students chartered with promoting civility on campus.

At my initial meeting with the Chancellor, I had agreed

to meet the Civility Commission last for a debriefing. The commission, however, requested this earlier meeting, which I took advantage of to inform its members that I was not satisfied with the conduct of the investigation, and that I felt that the Chancellor's commitment to my investigation was not reflected in the behavior of the people immediately below him. I told them that I felt compelled to deviate from my original agreement with the Chancellor as to procedure in order to open up the investigation to involve a more representative cross-section of people.

I specifically asked the commission members to use each of their individual influences to direct people involved in the incident to me. I gave each my private phone number in my office in Springfield and the name of a scheduling liaison. I also arranged to have my number published daily in the Collegian, a University newspaper, and granted an interview to a Collegian reporter who printed a story about my problems.

I also met with Paul Barrows, who had contacted me on his own initiative, and arranged through him to meet with Rick Townes, whose name I had encountered in a New York Times article about the incident. The two are Director and Assistant Director, respectively, of the University's Committee for the Collegiate Education of Minority and Black Students (CCEMBS) program, a minority counseling program designed to help minority students complete school. It later became clear that had I met with them first the investigation would have proceeded more rapidly.

I also called the Chancellor and conveyed my concerns and told him of my solutions. The Chancellor subsequently made some well placed calls.

From the above discussions and from the proliferation of interviews that flowed from them, I concluded that assigning me to work out of the office of the Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs was a major procedural barrier certain to result, as it did, in a sluggish, incomplete investigation.

Once I removed myself from the direction of that office and made it only one of many points of contact, the investigation progressed vigorously and resulted in the findings outlined below.

Finally, when this report refers to the "incident" it is referring to the evening's events immediately following the series game and the subsequent response of the UMASS administrators. When the report refers to the subsequent response of UMASS administrators, it is referring to the response of administrators to media inquiries, to the administrators' investigation of the events of the evening, to their response to demands for action from various factions and to the reception given to the independent outside investigator.

THE INCIDENT

The setting was the Southwest Residential Area (SWRA) (see Attachment B, Map of SWRA) on the UMASS campus where maybe 5,600 residents, including the highest concentration of freshmen, live in 15 high rise and low rise residence halls within an area the size of one city block.

The final World Series game between the New York Mets (Mets), commonly looked upon by UMASS students as the black team and the Boston Red Sox (Sox), commonly looked upon by the students as a white team, was winding to a close.

Students, many still chafing from the previous Sox loss, which resulted from a dramatic reversal in the very last minutes of the game and from a day-long weather delay of the final game, were clustered in different places inside the many buildings watching the end of what was to be the final Sox loss. Many were drinking heavily.

Security was almost invisible. The Duty Sargeant's earlier request for extra manpower to cope with post-game activity had been turned down by the Director of Security in spite of the fact that loud, boisterous and even violent gatherings of students had caused problems after each previous game.

The SWRA housing director said that he had called for extra security but did not expect it and had no way of knowing if it

would be provided. He told me that he was satisfied as long as students carried their violent behavior outside of the residence hall where he considered his responsibility for their behavior ended.

UMASS Security Police told me that Amherst Police were on alert for a call from UMASS security only if the Sox won and, then, only if students marched on the Town of Amherst. Amherst Police were not on campus and no plans had been made for their contingency presence.

In contrast, student security was out in increased, full force in anticipation of trouble with instructions to secure and protect the inside of buildings and to inform security of any problems inside or outside. They had their Walkie Talkies connecting them to the Security Police Dispatcher for that purpose.

The Director of Security and his Assistant, the Supervisor of R. D.'s, professionals who are in charge of residence halls, some of the R. D.'s and the SWRA Housing Director were not on campus nor was anybody of significant authority from the Office of Student Affairs, which is responsible for housing, security and other affairs of students.

Most of the R. D.'s who remained on campus were in their rooms as was the duty R. D. for that night. The 15 residence halls were staffed primarily by students.

The "Pyramids," two stone structures named after their shapes, located in front of the Washington Residence Hall in the courtyard of the grounds of the SWRA, a place where students normally gather--at times in large numbers--were vacant and the surrounding area nearly empty.

On the night of each preceding Series game, students had gathered on and around the Pyramids, normally to celebrate the winning team. Although the gatherings had been boisterous, they were never totally out of control, although on at least one night a couch was reported tossed out of a dormitory window. Usually, mostly winning fans had gathered while most of the losing fans brooded in their rooms and contemplated victory for the next game.

The Duty Sargeant said that, as a precaution, he ordered all available manpower--which consisted at highest estimates of seven to nine officers--one restricted to the desk as dispatcher--to the SWRA. One officer, a female, about whom much has been rumored, heard the order and drove her cruiser to the periphery of the SWRA. Just as the game was ending, she was dispatched to escort a campus vendor to a depository off campus, an indication that overall concern for security at the Pyramids was not high. Two duty sargents, the night one and a hold-over from the 3-11 shift, were patrolling the mall on foot near the Pyramids.

At about 11:30 p.m., the final game ended in victory for the Mets and students streamed out of their rooms in the SWRA area toward the Pyramids. Shortly, they were joined by students from other residential areas and by students who had been watching the game off campus. Some came tossing fire bombs and bottles and others came with sticks. Many (some say most) were visibly drunk and fully acting out their feelings, the same as they had done after previous games, with the difference being that not only was the game over and not only had their most favored team lost, but the loss was a season final making the thrill of victory and the agony of defeat far more intense. Emotions were especially intense for the football players, primarily Sox fans, whose normal competitive spirit was enhanced by their own pending post-championship game and who, one could reasonably suspect, suffered disproportionate despair and who were big enough to act it out in any manner they chose.

Also, unlike previous nights, the losers came out in greater numbers than the winning Mets fans. Mets fans reached the Pyramids first and began heralding their victory in the loudest of terms, taunting the losing Sox fans who followed. White Mets fans climbed on one Pyramid and the white Sox fans climbed the other. Within minutes the crowd on the Pyramids and in the surrounding area had swelled from a few hundred fans to a few thousand (estimates ranged from 1,200 to 3,000), Sox fans making up the overwhelming, angry majority.

Fire bombs and bottles were flying from all directions, most landing harmlessly but some hitting people. Some students were seriously injured by the flying debris. Sox fans began jostling Mets fans, at first harmlessly pushing them. Sporadic fights began breaking out. Although some white students told me that fights were mixed white on white, black on black, black on white, this investigation revealed only white on white fights at the beginning.

The two Duty Sargeants stayed for a while and observed the crowd behavior. They left to investigate a report of a gun at the opposite end of the Mall near Kennedy Dormitory. Before they left they had observed the violent behavior without acting because, as one Duty Sargeant told me, it was normal behavior for the Pyramids and his experience was that police interference only caused it to escalate unless it was stopped before the crowd reached significant size.

As long as fights remained white on white, they remained primarily one on one, or a small cluster of friends against a perceived aggressor. These initial fights did not go beyond testy short outbursts.

Some would like to place most of the blame for what followed on a well known white troublemaker who had led a crowd down from another residence area with the avowed goal of attacking Mets fans. He was loud and graphic with his intentions

and from beginning to end provoked the crowd and participated in the violence. He was identified by police as the one who first hit a black student. Later a complaint was issued against him in relation to this incident, and even later he was kicked out of school for a dormitory infraction, I was told. He was, by far, however, not the only aggressor in the incident.

The intensity of the crowd grew as it began moving toward the black students. No one present that night can explain quite why or how, but the focus of the crowd perceptibly shifted toward the black students long before any black student used a weapon. From the many descriptions I was given, it seemed as though the crowd was unconsciously focusing in on a surrogate target against which to take revenge for the Sox loss and that surrogate target conveniently became black students.^{1/}

Stories vary but football players certainly made up part of the crowd that surged from the Pyramids to John Quincy Adams (JQA) Residence Hall, where the group of black students had gathered. Most of the black students had just returned from a fraternity meeting and others were just following the action. Some white students who were Mets fans were mixing with the black students, and some black students were mixing with their white, Sox friends. A few black students, sensing danger, left the area. Most stayed. Certainly some black students anticipated

^{1/} It is significant to note that the vast majority of the Sox and Mets fans were white. My investigation revealed no more than fifteen or twenty black students in the area of the Pyramids.

trouble since at least two had come to the area with sticks, and others had stayed away in anticipation of confrontation.

The Sox crowd began taunting the Mets fans in the direction of the black students, who returned the taunts, as the crowd surged closer toward JQA. Some say that what appeared to be a surge was merely a growth of the crowd's outer perimeter. Others say the crowd was led there. The investigation revealed that both were factors.

The taunting turned to shoving and jostling. Crowds of whites would push forward, relatively minor confrontations would occur and then the culprits would draw back. White students who were Mets fans faded away and either left or became part of the larger white crowd. A black student was attacked by a white student. His glasses were knocked off and his face was cut. He and his friends tried to catch the culprit who faded into the white crowd.

By now the black students were standing alone and the distinction between a black Mets fan and a black Sox fan was lost. They all became Mets fans confronted by an increasingly violent white crowd led by what everyone described as, among other names, large people. These "large people" were labeled by white students and black students, Mets fans and Sox fans, old friends of theirs and old enemies, by description and by name as

white football players.

Other black students were hit. One black football player, who had advised the black students to leave, tried to calm the crowd and break up fights. He told me that all football players were doing the same thing the entire evening (breaking up fights). His story contradicted that of his own fellow white players and of most who observed them that night. I was able to establish beyond a reasonable doubt that football players were, in fact, from beginning to end, aggressors in the violence and were among the first to alter the pattern to what became a full blown racial incident. The impression given me by the black football player was that he was experiencing a loyalty crisis between his fellow teammates and his fellow black students. His solution was to try to stop the violence and urge the vastly outnumbered black students to leave.

Although the story varies as to the exact act that sparked the larger melee, without a doubt, during a lull in the action, a white football player struck the first blow. He claimed to be chasing a white person into the crowd of black students when he was shoved into someone who pushed him back. Black students claim that he was directly confronting them. At some point he threw a punch; scuffles began breaking out around him as other football players and white students moved toward the action. One black student tried to extricate his friend from the choke hold of a

football player. He told me that he was jumped from behind, knocked down, punched and kicked before he struggled to his feet and began swinging a stick. He told me that he used the stick because the crowd had him and his friends surrounded; they could not escape and the white attackers were beyond listening to reason. Two football players told me that the fight started when a black student (the same student above with the stick) pulled out a club described as a sawed-off bat or a table leg and repeatedly hit one of them with it. However, the evidence is overwhelming that the attack on black students was in its advanced stages before the "club" was used.

The more the black students tried to defend themselves the angrier and more violent the crowd became. When an avenue of retreat opened the black students ran, pursued by the larger crowd of whites led by football players, whose anger had been fueled by the sight of a fellow player being knocked out by the "club" wielder. The much larger white crowd pursued the black students, yelling racial epithets as it went.

Asked why the white students chased the black students, many white students and staff explained that the clubbing had enraged the crowd. When asked if everyone in the crowd saw the clubbing, or knew of the clubbing, the answer was always "no." Asked why, if the crowd was only after one black student, it chased all the

black students, the answer was always quizzical. Asked why, if the crowd was chasing a particular black student, it broke into two separate groups and chased two separate groups of black students, the answers were the same. Asked why the crowd was yelling racial epithets as it pursued black students, the answers were equally as quizzical. Asked how the crowd divided itself from Mets versus Sox fans into black versus white, most white students and staff could not answer.^{2/}

A plausible explanation is that most of the people in the crowd did not know that they were chasing a short black person in a brown leather jacket who had wielded a short club. They were, in their rage, chasing black people who, by now, had become the central focus of their anger at losing the game. That is how most black students and black faculty and staff perceived the incident.

The crowd chased black students for a short distance before the black group split into two, one running toward James Residence Hall and the other toward Crampton Residence Hall.

^{2/} The best explanation of the crowd behavior was suggested to me in a term used by the Chairman of the UMASS Sociology Department, Dr. Platt. He used the sociological term "kinship behavior" of which he said race is a more primitive category. He was not at all surprised that the crowd divided into black and white. He also suggested that some of the white students who joined the white crowd acted out of fear of being branded "nigger lover" by fellow white students. He characterized this as "normative behavior".

The larger part of the crowd, football players in front, ran toward Crampton Residence Hall. The other part of the crowd pursued black students toward James. From everything described to me there is no question that, at this point in time, the mob was not chasing a particular black person. It was chasing all of them.

The female security officer who had been ordered to escort a vendor to a depository outside the SWRA, was heading for Hampden Commons where the vendor was when a student, whom I interviewed, ran up and told her of the violence. She immediately went in the direction of the crowd, ran into one of the Duty Sargeants who was returning from Kennedy, and both went to Crampton where the black students had run inside and had the doors locked behind them.

By all descriptions, the crowd continued to break windows and yell racial insults at the black students while trying to enter the building by force.

When security refused to allow the mob entry at the door entered by the black students, part of the crowd, again led by football players, ran to another door about forty feet away on the same side of the building. One football player kicked in the glass door (some say he threw a barrel through it) and entered.

Another football player followed him inside. Both of these football players are known by name to students, black and white alike. They encountered a black female, who had come to lock the now shattered outer door and who had accidentally locked herself in the inner corridor with the football players. She said she was intimidated and jostled by one of the football players who repeatedly called her "black bitch" and other names in an attempt to persuade her to unlock the inner door, which she refused to do. Since she had no key to that door, she could not have unlocked it anyway.

A crowd in the inner hall was growing when two security people arrived at the door, the afore-mentioned female police officer and one of the Duty Sargeants. They cleared the hall and escorted the black female student inside, making certain she was unharmed. The crowd milled, threw rocks and engaged in sporadic physical violence. One black student--not a member of the original group--was grabbed and roughly jostled by a much larger white "friend" and was released, he told me, only after an uncomfortably lengthy period of persuasion.

At some point during the melee--and I am unclear when--word went out for other black students on campus to come with weapons. Without question the word was received and some black students were roaming around with weapons prepared to fight.

A black student, Yancy Robinson,^{3/} was returning from a

^{3/} I feel free to use his name since it is already public and my report substantially mirrors his own report of events.

fraternity imposed study session at the Student Center with a friend. They entered the lobby of Kennedy Dormitory, which is at the opposite end of the SWRA Mall from the Pyramids. Two of the black students, who were part of the original group standing in front of JQA, ran to the door of Kennedy and banged until Yancy let them in. One was bleeding from the hand, having been knocked down by the crowd earlier.

At least one of the black students went upstairs. Three of them, including Yancy, went back outside toward the crowd. I could not determine if the one who went upstairs was one of the three. I also could not determine if he brought anything back downstairs.

Yancy and one friend each "acquired" a golf club. They say they picked them up off the ground. I have not been able to determine where they got them from but it is not likely that they picked them up from the ground.

They proceeded toward Crampton and stopped behind cover from which they watched the action of the crowd. They witnessed two football players kick in the glass door and confront the black female.

They moved toward the crowd--allegedly intending to help the black female--and reached a ramp leading to the second

Crampton door, when the female security officer came to move the crowd outside.

Both Yancy and his friend stood by the outer door, with golf clubs partially concealed, as the crowd moved away. Seeing the golf clubs, the female officer took the friend's club and pushed him inside to be identified by her partner. When she reached for Yancy, he pulled away and started down the ramp. Someone in the crowd yelled "there he is." Yancy panicked and ran for about 200 feet before he was caught by the crowd at the corner of Kennedy Dormitory. Had he not run, he most likely would have been pushed inside with his friend, identified for future disciplinary action and released.

A football player hit Yancy with what has been described as a "vicious" block that slowed him down. Another football player tackled him to the ground. Others, football players and non-football players, including the white student who has since been removed from school, joined in kicking and beating him.

Why the crowd was beating a tall fair-skinned black man with a long golf club in his hand when it was allegedly seeking a shorter dark-skinned black man with a short club whose dress was clearly distinct from Yancy's is a question also answered quiz-zically.

The officers moved toward the crowd and were told that Yancy was being beaten. By the time they pushed through the crowd and found Yancy (the female security officer told me that they found him only when a student who came to get help led them to him through the crowd), the fight was over, Yancy was unconscious and his friend, who had followed the crowd from Crampton, was trying to revive him.

In all fairness to the female officer and contrary to many reports, the time that it took her to secure Crampton and push through the crowd and find Yancy was not unreasonable. He had run quite a distance and the crowd concealed him. Even had she reached him sooner, the crowd was so inflamed, as described by so many, that it is uncertain that she could have stopped the beating. Certainly she was not running from the action. If she had wanted to avoid the violence she simply could have continued on her escort duty rather than return to help with the crowd. The real question is why she was sent on escort duty in the first place.

From descriptions given to me, the beating ended because some students worked to stop it while others just tired of the battle. One white student--an unsung hero if his story is true--said he instinctively threw himself over Yancy and was the recipient of kicks from one particularly obstinate "very big man" who was eventually pulled away.^{4/} He told me that he helped Yancy

^{4/} I could not obtain corroboration of his story but he came to me voluntarily and anonymously and had no reason to lie. He has not sought recognition and did not go to the police or University officials with his story. Yancy Robinson did say in his Complaint to UMASS Police that a student intervened by saying, "he is not the one," but I cannot say if the two are the same.

instinctively because he feared Yancy would be killed.

The ending may have been speeded up by a black female who made such a ruckus at the scene--looking for her boyfriend and then helping Yancy--that she scared or confused the crowd. She was also the recipient of threats, jostling, and racial slurs and was able to specifically identify one very recognizable football player as her assailant. He was the same person who accosted the black female at Crampton.

I spoke to this football player. He denied involvement in either incident, but his size and features make him so easily identifiable that it is unlikely that he was not involved. That same football player has been accused of doing many other violent acts that evening. I determined that some of what he had been accused of doing may have been done by other football players who were also identified to me. He knew them but chose to cover up for them. His own involvement, however, was corroborated by many totally independent sources, both black and white, friend and foe. He initiated a second meeting with me at which he insisted on my divulging the contents of my investigation. When I refused, he accused me of bias. Without question he was worried about what I might find out.

At some point the Amherst Police were called in. They arrived at the same time as the ambulance which had been called by campus police for Yancy. Yancy was taken to the hospital and treated but refused requests that he stay over night. He told me

that almost a week passed before anyone from the University Administration officially contacted his parents about the incident. Altogether ten people were treated for injuries that night.

The crowd dissipated mostly of its own volition and partly because of persuasion from the Amherst Police and UMASS security police which, for the first time that evening, felt secure confronting the crowd.

SECURITY POLICE RESPONSE

The missed opportunities for security police to prevent and/or control the events of that evening were many. First there should have been a plan in place for such events. Past efforts to produce one, I was told, had been frustrated by a lack of administration support. Second, absent a plan, security should have been increased substantially anyway. Both the Duty Sargeant and the Housing Director asked for increased security and, according to what I was told, the Director denied it.^{5/} The well-known fact that the Sox-Mets dichotomy was a white-black one itself justified increased security as did the events after previous series games. Security people knew of the dichotomy. Past history of gatherings at the Pyramids also justified increased security, including a history of excessive alcohol use. All the signs were clear. It would not have taken a psychologist or sociologist to predict the probabilities. They were self-evident

^{5/} Two security police in supervisory positions told me this.

and the opportunities to prepare for the worst were many. No one did anything dramatic except student security people who were out in full force. Though they were a shining example for others, by the very definition of their role, they are the least useful in controlling crowds, since their primary function outside was to merely observe and report.

The least that security could have done was to place Amherst Police on alert and to call them at the first sign of crowd misbehavior.

The black SWRA Housing Director, who was not present in the SWRA that night, missed an earlier opportunity to escalate the security problem to higher-ups in the administration. He was aware of the potential for violence and had requested more security but, as he told me, did not expect more. He also missed an opportunity to encourage students to stay inside. He considered security outside of the residence hall not a part of his responsibility. He told me that he preferred that boisterous students go outside and historically encouraged them to do so. His refusal to accept responsibility for the SWRA outside area probably explains why all of the professionals and non-professionals working for him offered little or no assistance to the badly outnumbered security police. Yet, he and his employees probably would have had the most calming effect on the crowd, many of whose members would have been known by them.

The more surprising fact is that planning for such an occasion was left to people so low in the hierarchy. At the very least, clear procedures on how to coordinate security for such an event should have come from the top. At most, people at the top should have anticipated trouble, been actively involved in preparing for a crisis and should have been present that night or, at least, been prepared to return to campus. As it turned out, no person in a position of significant authority became involved until the next day.

Under these circumstances black students, who were at the mercy of controlling forces, had reason to fear for their safety.

University officials in the positions of authority and power had not asserted control. The controlling forces in the SWRA became drunken white students and an ill-prepared security force. Black students were vastly outnumbered and the escalating racial conflict--as the numbers will almost always guarantee--resolved itself in favor of white students.^{6/} Black students perceived danger and that perception was the reality. That danger will continue to exist until something is done about it.

I cannot conclusively comment on whether existing security should have been more visible and active. I would suspect that it should have been. Apparently, low visibility in the absence

6/

No more than fifteen to twenty black students were directly involved in the incident and, from what I could determine, only a few more came out that evening.

of substantial force has worked in the past. Certainly one could reasonably assume, as did the Duty Sargeant of the evening, that a tested approach was best. That it didn't work is not proof that high visibility would have worked. From the evidence it is possible that nothing the small police presence did would have prevented the violence of the evening. Only eight or nine officers were available that night and only two or three were reported visible at any point in time during the fights. Most reports placed them in passive positions on the periphery of the action. Although reports of their behavior make them easy scapegoats, the problem is much bigger than the cops on the beat and should have been and should be solved by a much higher authority, which is where responsibility for events of the evening lie.

ADMINISTRATION RESPONSE

For the next several days, the incident continued to grow as did the missed opportunities. The four days from October 28 through October 31 were probably most critical in defining the scope of the incident and, after that date, Chancellor Duffey's combined efforts were probably most critical in limiting that scope.

Those first four days became significant primarily because they were marked by a contrasting combination of student outrage and administration denial (or a perception thereof) that a racial incident had occurred at UMASS.

That denial inflamed the already outraged students, both

black and white, whose comments in the days immediately following the incident contrasted sharply with the administration's.

On October 28, Security Director Jerry O'Neil was quoted in the Hampshire Gazette as saying:

"I think the situation started out with some folks just hanging around with some pent up energy...It just escalated to throwing things and the crowd was dispersed by police."

An October 29, 1986 Morning Union article stated:

"Robinson, who is black, said the attack was racially motivated, but University officials yesterday denied the claim. Public Safety Assistant Director Phil Cavanaugh said University officials had been meeting yesterday to try to get all the facts on the case and had determined that race was not the motivating factor in the incident."
(emphasis added)

"We have been meeting with many segments of the community throughout the day to put this thing in perspective and to tone it down," Cavanaugh said.

"It is not a racial issue," Cavanaugh said.

Cavanaugh was similarly quoted in many other newspapers.

An October 29, 1986 Boston Globe article stated:

"We know that there were blacks and whites fighting, but we think that was coincidental," UMASS spokesman Peter O'Neil said. "If anything instigated the attack, it was not the color of your skin but who you were rooting for."

At this point, we do not have any reason to believe it is a racial incident."

He was similarly quoted in many other newspapers, including the New York Times and the Chronicle of Higher Education.

An October 30, 1986 Morning Union article quoted Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs Dennis Madson as saying first:

"Whether the attack is racial has not been determined," he said, "but the possibility that it was racially motivated has not been ruled out..."

and then:

"with such a high awareness of racism, sometimes it is assumed that events are racially motivated, when in fact, there could be multiple causes of behavior."

In contrast, students were decrying the incident's racial motivation.

"I was beaten up just because I was black."
(October 29 Collegian)

"We feel the events that took place on October 28, 1986 were of racial intent. We do not and will not tolerate such violent action of abuse, such as those taken against black students.
(UMASS Student Senate at October 29th Meeting)

"The real question though is how can

this happen here? Mob violence and racial hatred are terms that should not be associated with a university. The reality, however, tells another story.

If the loss of a baseball series can lead a mob of students to attack and injure fellow students, then we have a problem. If the mob is white and the injured person is black, then we think we have a racial problem."
(October 30 Collegian Letter to Editor from 17 members of the Student Activities Division)

"This isn't a black issue, it's a racial issue that involves all of us."

"If people think that racism is dead, they're wrong."

Racism occurs every day, but the Southwest event "just happened to get press coverage...because it was big enough."
(October 30 Collegian Letter to the Editor from student coordinator of the Student Center for Educational Research and Advocacy)

During those first four days, students were meeting and insisting that the administration admit to and address a racial problem. For four days the administration appeared to deny a racial link outright or expressed doubt about such a link or said nothing about such a link.^{7/}

Not until October 31, 1986, when the Chancellor sent a letter to the student body denouncing racism and promising to

^{7/} In all fairness to Chancellor Duffey, he told me that he was out of town for several days after the incident. He took action immediately after returning to campus, including seeking out and speaking to black students to assure them that he would be responsive.

punish the wrongdoers, was a strong message sent by anyone in the administration. By then, denial, one of the most subtle forms of racial intolerance, because it tolerates it, had caused the incident to grow. I later came to suspect, and still do, that denial played a role in causing the incident and still is the single most important reason why those investigating it have not and could not get to the bottom of it. Denial might even explain past administration failure to prepare for such an incident.

Even the college newspaper, the Collegian, added to black students' outrage. Their perception of the Collegian was that it also, at first, denied a racial connection and then printed two articles, one of which placed the evening's events in a humorous vein, and the other of which was perceived as misdirected. The first article titled, "This fucking kid be...", was a satire by a fictional "Spike Boogie" about how he and his friends beat up a Mets fan (no color designation). The second article, "Danger in Discrimination," chastised black students for putting white students out of the previous night's meeting of third world students, who were discussing how to handle the administration.

Black students said they felt both Collegian articles were in bad taste, badly timed and reflected an absence of adequate minority representation on the Collegian staff. The Collegian certainly missed an opportunity to assume leadership.

An opportunity for the administration to send a strong

message apart from the Chancellor's letter came on October 31, 1986, Halloween, when black students, fearing for their safety, marched on the administration demanding that the SWRA be closed down for the traditionally rowdy weekend.

Although, to its credit, the administration responded to the safety concerns of black students by increasing security and Vice Chancellor Madson stayed in the area until 1:30 Saturday morning, the wrong point was emphasized. Safety was an immediate issue but the far more significant issue, the underlying racial sentiments that caused black students to feel insecure, would have been highlighted had the administration cancelled the normally raucous annual activities. As it turned out, the refusal to do so was perceived by many as an indication of administration insensitivity.^{8/}

Another missed opportunity involved the UMASS football team, which was scheduled for a post-championship game. The game could have been cancelled in deference to an investigation of the team's activities in a racial brawl. Instead the team was taken out of town to play. The team's stay out of town was deliberately extended to keep members out of the Halloween festivities.

Halloween festivities and football games are far less

^{8/} Chancellor Duffey said the decision not to cancel the festivities was made out of fear of a backlash from students who had already made plans, including having already invited friends to campus for the weekend.

important than combatting racism. The festivities and the game are highly visible, important parts of student life. Cancelling them would have sent a strong message. Not cancelling them did nothing to dispel black student, staff and faculty anger and made the incident loom that much larger. By failing to cancel, the administration may have inadvertently sent the message that it was tolerant of racial intolerance.

At the very least, the administration should have immediately dismissed the well known white troublemaker from school. ^{9/} Stories of his involvement were far too graphic to be without substance. Failure to do so was yet another missed opportunity. Dismissing him later for a dormitory infraction made the administration seem that much more insensitive to racial issues.

Black students expressed their anger in the form of a protest to the Chancellor. They demanded to meet with him, met with him, and submitted a list of demands designed to correct the problems that they felt made the campus unsafe for minorities. As discussed later in this report, the manner in which those demands were answered also added to the controversy.

Several days after October 31, sensing a more serious problem and seeking a credible account of the evening's events, Chancellor Duffey did two things. First, he asked me to conduct

^{9/} Under the current disciplinary procedure this is not easy to do without complications, but I believe circumstances would have justified the risk as did the subsequent criminal charges which were filed against him and of which he has been convicted.

an independent, outside investigation to determine whether what was being publicized by security police as a fight between opposing baseball fans was in fact a racial incident, as he suspected, and to make recommendations for change where appropriate. Second, he arranged a campus appearance of a black Mets ballplayer and white Sox player. Neither act by the Chancellor was without subsequent controversy. Problems in the initial stages of my investigation and mixed perceptions of the program with the ballplayers made both acts part of the incident.

By selecting a Commissioner of the very highly visible Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination, who is charged normally with investigating more than five hundred cases of alleged discrimination a year, the Chancellor should have been able to assure the appearance of an unbiased investigation. To emphasize the point, we agreed that the resulting report would be immediately released to the public. Unfortunately, my initial efforts to investigate the incident also became a missed opportunity.

As recorded above, the first week of my investigation was disastrous. By Friday of that week so little had been accomplished that it was impossible for me to even speculate on the causes of the events of that evening. I was stopped and asked by one person why my investigation was ending so soon. I later found out from faculty, staff and students, black and white, that many people were of the impression that Friday of that first week was my final day at UMASS. Most knew that I had

not spoken to most of those directly involved in the incident. As a consequence, many had understandably formed the opinion that I had no intent to divulge the truth. No one in the administration had made it clear that my investigation would continue until I felt it was complete. Before taking matters into my own hands, I decided to give the existing procedure more time to work. After two more weeks my frustration was complete.

The best that I can say about those first three weeks in the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs is that I did not get a sense that the people in that office considered that I was a man on an important mission.

In all fairness to the black Special Assistant to the Vice Chancellor, who was assigned to make up my schedule, once that assignment was made, it seemed that the full responsibility for the success or failure of the investigation fell on his shoulders. I generously want to believe that he had neither the power, the authority nor the influence to persuade key staff and students to come forward.^{10/} Many black students and faculty had long ago written off the position as ineffective and as a buffer, designed to insulate those in real positions of authority and power from them.

^{10/} In my discussions with him, he always appeared concerned about problems of minority students and the University as a whole. He was always helpful and responsive. I believe that he did as much as he could in difficult circumstances.

Placed in that particular office under that particular position, I became, in the perception of the campus black population and some non-blacks, including some members of the Civility Commission, a part of that buffer and, therefore, part of the problem. Essentially, as I later discovered, by my very presence in that particular place, the incident had grown larger. Someone should have been sensitive enough to avoid that.

To make matters worse, when black student demands were finally answered by the administration, the task of conveying the answers and responding to black students' questions was assigned to that same black special assistant, adding to the incident again by conveying the impression that the negotiations had been delegated down.^{11/}

Nonetheless, although it lasted two to three weeks longer than it should have, after I took action (discussed in the introduction above) to correct the problem, the investigation continued without further delay.

The second action by the Chancellor, bringing the baseball players to the campus, also caused controversy.

Some felt that it was an effort by the administration to

^{11/} Again, in all fairness to Chancellor Duffey, he told me that several different copies of demands were conveyed to him. I have two copies. One included a demand for increased armed foot patrols and the other foot patrols (without arms). Nonetheless, even though students should have spent more time and been more precise in articulating their demands, the students' efforts should have been viewed as legitimate and handled more delicately.

make light of a very serious situation. Some black students and faculty felt that the content of the program was insulting.

I reviewed a quality video tape of the program and concluded that it was in relatively good taste, despite some ill-placed remarks by one person.

No one in the program lost sight of its purpose and almost everyone who spoke did so with the underlying assumption that UMASS had experienced a racial incident.

I give Chancellor Duffey full credit for recognizing the need to both lighten the tension and to show students how they had allowed a loss of a game to become a catalyst for the release of their racial prejudices.

It was a bold effort to make a difficult point. Certainly it was lost on some who were more concerned with autographs than racism. But certainly it was not lost on all.

Regardless of these efforts, I must re-emphasize that a valuable opportunity was missed when, in those first four days following the melee, members of the administration in positions of both responsibility and real power either denied the racial character of the incident or said nothing. They missed the opportunity to stand up and publicly declare the events of the evening to the media and the entire UMASS community and to tell all that quick action would be taken. Had the Chancellor, Provost, Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs or the Dean of Students (all together would have been best) done so and combined that conclu-

sion with appropriate action, the incident probably would not have escalated as it did. As is I found no evidence of anyone in the administration taking a strong stand until the 31st of October when the Chancellor wrote his letter.^{12/} The denials from security police and the perceived silence of the administration, combined, made the incident much larger. And there yet remain key administrators, at the operational level, who have not indicated that the incident was racial and that they intend to correct the underlying structural problems that allowed it to happen.

I found that most people, administrators, police and otherwise, who denied a racial motivation--and there were many--assumed that the racial reference applied to white attitudes and actions only and ignored the fact that there are two sides to the racial equation.

In order to resolve the underlying problems, administrators need to understand that black students came to the Pyramids with some racial predispositions and attitudes too. Some of those predispositions and attitudes also helped set the stage and

^{12/} On the evening of the 30th, Chancellor Duffey did invite himself to a meeting of about 500 black students who had gathered to talk about the incident and assured them that he would take action. The next day's news reports of his comments and his letter both helped to alter people's perception of the administration's posture.

fuel the events of the evening and made it more probable that the incident would escalate.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The events of October 27th did not occur in a vacuum. In addition to the predispositions and attitudes which black students bring with them when they enroll at UMASS, there are the facts and perceptions about recent history involving blacks on the campus which naturally influence students and their behavior. Equally important, this recent history strongly influenced how the events in October were interpreted by black students, staff and faculty. In my investigation several topics were raised repeatedly, and they were nearly all cited as evidence that the UMASS administration has failed to address successfully the concerns of black people on campus.

The concerns included the following: a distrust of campus police and the Dean of Students' Office based in large part upon their handling of the Yvette Henry case; the concern that structural and functional changes in the Office of Affirmative Action had decreased its effectiveness and caused the decline in the recruitment of black faculty and staff; the belief that UMASS has not provided sufficient support services to address the sizable gap between those black students who enroll and those who graduate; the feeling that the Civility Commission has not addressed

issues of racism effectively, most notably their inability to have recommendations implemented; and the belief that the administration has a tepid commitment to Afro-American Studies. These topics were not presented as equally important, nor were the comments of people who conveyed them investigated in great depth. The important fact here is that these are commonly held perceptions. As such they have a political reality of their own, and if any of these perceptions need correcting, the administration has not made sufficient effort to do so.

Among the topics raised, none excited more passion than the case of Yvette Henry. Because the District Attorney dropped charges against her, and because Ms. Henry settled her complaint against UMASS out of court, there has never been a full and public airing of the case. As a consequence, complaints about the administration's handling of the investigation and her arrest have never been refuted. I suspect that the administration grossly underestimates the bitter residue that has resulted from this case.

In the ensuing climate of distrust, black students understandably fear that they are more likely than white students to be accused and treated unfairly by campus police and administrators in Student Affairs.

Complaints about the recent history of the Office of Affirmative Action focused on several issues--the long vacancy of leadership in the Office since the death of the former Director:

the decline in the recruitment of black faculty and staff during the past two years; and the perceived demotion of the office in an administrative reorganization which changed the Director's reporting lines.

The Civility Commission was formed for the purpose of addressing the issue of intolerance at UMASS, including racism. Although that commission launched some bold initiatives, many of its members and non-members, black and white, feel that it has not successfully addressed the problems of racism on campus.

Documents made available to me by the commission support the fact that most of the problems addressed in my report had been addressed by the Civility Commission but the proposed solutions had not been brought to fruition. One of the members spoke to me in frustration over the impossibility of finding people in the administration who are dedicated to the purpose, accountable for the results, and powerful enough to make them happen.

My investigation confirmed that below the level of the Chancellor, key areas of campus life seem to be controlled by no one with significant authority. The resulting knee jerk reaction to these crises were inevitable. The gaps in security, the absence of effective coordination between housing and security, the terrible public relations efforts, the insensitivity to black students, faculty and staff, the failure to follow through on

programs proposed by the Civility Commission and the general absence of coordination between many programs and people designed to cope with the issue of racism can be explained by neglect and insensitivity which was illustrated in macroscopic clarity by the university's handling of the Yvette Henry incident.

Black faculty see this history and the on-going low intensity racial affronts as evidence that the administration is not responsive to black people. Finally, but not least insignificantly, on the matter of black discontent and distrust of the administration and its motives, I found a wide gap between the administration's perception of black student, faculty and staff comfort level and the reality.

Many black people on the UMASS campus are not happy. It would be a classic error for the administration to assume otherwise. Black faculty, staff and students tell me that the white administration may confuse their behavior because it is less rancorous than their militancy of the 60's and 70's. But one fact reflected in the World Series incident and in my discussions with them is that the new civility hides a readiness to fight when the decision is made to do so.

CONCLUSION

The events of that evening in the UMASS SWRA were predictable, preventable, and primarily racially motivated. The

baseball game and alcohol, rather than being the causes, were merely the catalysts. The administration's historical denial of racial problems caused, not only the failure to predict and prevent the incident, but also caused black student, faculty, and staff discontent with its conduct of the subsequent investigation, a discontent which was exacerbated by a perception that the quality of campus life for minorities at UMASS is generally declining, and which was justified by the fact that football players and others involved in the incident have not been punished.

The incident was not isolated but, rather, one of a series of incidents, most of which were of low intensity but some of which have escalated to significant proportions as did the Yvette Henry incident and the current incident. Denial has been a common denominator in the Administration's handling of each incident and the subsequent failure to act the common insurance of a future incident.

Future incidents of racial intolerance and the potentially deadly violence that attach to them are inevitable unless the problems revealed by my investigation are solved.

Toward that end, I make the following recommendations:

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Criminal Prosecution:

I recommend that students who violated the law be found

and prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law including prosecution under normal criminal statutes and under special criminal civil rights statutes. Toward that end, I recommend that an investigator, other than members of the UMASS Security Police, be selected by either the Chancellor, the President, or the Board of Trustees^{13/} to lead the investigation. I recommend that consideration be given to selecting that investigator from a credible source outside of the university. Members of the UMASS football team should be the central, though not the sole, focus of the investigation. Finally, I recommend that all students, black and white, come forward and tell the special investigator what they know, since no investigation can be successful without such cooperation.

2. Security:

I recommend revision of the current security procedures to reflect the unique requirements of the UMASS community. Toward that end I recommend the development of procedures that focus on effective alternatives to massive police presence on campus,

^{13/} If none of these choose to act then I recommend that the Board of Regents or the Governor appoint a special prosecutor.

including a plan to incorporate the counseling skills of the professional housing staff. The plan should specify the circumstances and the procedure by which Amherst Police, extra UMASS police and UMASS administrators with higher authority should be summoned to campus. It should establish a clear chain of responsibility which includes a civilian in every link. I recommend that the plan include an on-going awareness and human relations training component that is designed to make all of those involved in security aware of their responsibility and sensitive to the special problem of a multi-cultural university and able to respond to those problems in a manner that would diffuse incidents such as the subject incident of this report.

I also recommend annual refresher training for the security police officers relative to their obligations under criminal statutes, especially criminal civil rights statutes.

Finally, I recommend that responsibility for change in security procedures be placed in the hands of someone who understands the magnitude and gravity of the problems addressed in this report.^{14/}

^{14/} Past history, the current incident and my discussions with the Security Director and his staff, left me with the impression that no current members of UMASS security would be able to make the needed changes.

3. Public Relations:

I recommend that UMASS Office of Public Information develop a policy for reporting incidents which have the potential for being racial. I recommend that such a plan specify the people who should and who should not respond to the press. I recommend that any press response to such an incident come from the highest possible authority but from no one below security director and not from the security director or anyone above him until the Chancellor has been consulted.^{15/}

Finally, I recommend that future incidents which become public and which contain potential racial elements be reported immediately to the media as such and that the facts of the subsequent investigation be used to confirm that a racial element was or was not involved.

4. Education Programs:

I recommend that UMASS develop educational programs which are designed to maximize student awareness of racial issues in America. Toward that end I recommend that more courses which deal with racial issues be developed, widely advertised and

^{15/} I recognize the freedom of speech implications of this recommendation. I also recommend, therefore, that UMASS make it clear to the media who its official spokesperson[s] will be regarding racial incidents.

offered in the Afro-American Studies Department and in such disciplines as history, literature, psychology, anthropology, sociology, and education. Such courses should at least satisfy basic university requirements and all students should be required to complete at least one of them.^{16/} I also recommend that traditional course work be augmented by campus-wide lectures on racial issues as well as increased programs in the residence halls. I also recommend that UMASS establish an annual Civility Day, a day for guest speakers as well as for reflection and for the Chancellor to re-affirm his and the university's commitment to the challenge of creating a positive racial climate on the campus and in the society at large.

5. Black Programs:

I recommend that UMASS review its minority programs for black students, faculty and staff and, where they are found wanting, develop a specific plan for improvement. I recommend that such a review focus on black student recruitment and reten-

^{16/} Current students attending UMASS are children of the post-civil rights era and of the "Reagan Revolution". They have no direct memory of the civil rights movement and are far less sensitive to the need to control certain anti-social behavior. To the extent that the students' education in these areas is lacking, UMASS is obligated to supplement it. It is not enough that UMASS merely be a place of higher education that is intolerant of racial intolerance. UMASS must be a place of enlightenment that lays the foundation for a better society.

I am sensitive to the role of faculty in deciding academic course requirements. I urge the faculty to assume a leadership role in racial matters by giving serious consideration to this recommendation.

tion, faculty and staff hiring and promotion and on existing programs designed to promote these.

In particular I recommend that such a review focus on the CCEMB's program and its student to staff ratio which, on the face of it, appears far too high for CCEMB's staff to accomplish its counseling goals; on the UMASS Affirmative Action Program to determine the extent to which black staff and, especially, faculty hiring and promotion have compared to that of others; ^{17/} and whether the university should clarify statistics on the racial composition of its student body by publicizing a "minority" percentage and a separate 'black' percentage. ^{18/}

6. Student Demands:

I recommend that the Chancellor review student demands and prepare a point-by-point response that reflects a genuine desire on the part of UMASS to redress legitimate student ^{19/}grievances.

^{17/} I have been told that such studies have already been done. I have referred to one in this report on black faculty which confirms that black faculty hiring has declined as have their numbers on campus.

^{18/} Many black people at UMASS resent being told that in recent years their numbers have increased from four percent (4%) to eight percent (8%). Apparently, the number of black students at UMASS is actually below 4% while the number of "minority" students (Black, Hispanic, Asian, Native American) has increased to 8%.

^{19/} I do not find the student "demands" to be unreasonable. In fact, they include many demands that are similar to many of my recommendations and those proposed in the attached ADL report.

7. Alcohol Policy:

I recommend a review and revision of UMASS alcohol possession and consumption policy for students that reflects a need to control both the drinking and the behavior of students who drink too much. I recommend that any new policy be a coordinated plan among the colleges of the five college area and that it provide swift and firm penalties for alcohol related criminal assaults, including academic suspension.

I understand that previous efforts by the Chancellor and university staff to enforce stricter rules for alcohol use on campus have been resisted by student government leadership (especially leaders in the Southwest Housing Area). Some student leaders and students, strangely enough, claim certain civil rights violations when the administration attempts to enforce stricter alcohol policies. I urge the campus administration to persist in this effort and the Board of Trustees to fully support their effort.

8. Disciplinary Procedures:

I recommend that UMASS develop a racial behavior code and ^{20/}concise, strict disciplinary procedures for violations of it.

^{20/} I am told that a new code has been developed. Whether or not it works remains a question.

9. Resident Directors:

I recommend the immediate reintegration of the Resident Director staff to include both black male and female role models and authority figures.

10. Freshmen:

I recommend that the concentration of freshmen in the SWRA be reduced and that freshmen be equally divided among the SWRA and other residential areas. ^{21/}

11. Football Players:

I recommend that football players be required to undergo a sensitivity training program and that some portion of the proceeds from football games be directed to fund that training and to help fund the activities of the Civility Commission. I recommend that a determination be made of the desirability of extending the training and funding requirement to all student sports.

12. Civility Commission:

I recommend that the University strengthen the existing

^{21/} Proposals to close the SWRA as a residence area have been recommended to me for inclusion in this report. The practical problems of closing it probably far outweigh its current value and would make any such consideration necessarily a subject of an in-depth study of the technical and financial implications, including alternative uses for the buildings. Proposals to tear down the Pyramids have also been presented to me.

Civility Commission or replace it with a stronger group and that it either establish an independent student Civility Commission or that students be made a stronger component of the current Commission. I recommend that the commission[s] develop a plan for handling campus racial crisis in conjunction with the administration, including a plan to monitor the implementation of recommendations in this report.

I also recommend that black faculty, staff and students be represented on the Civility Commission[s] in numbers sufficient to guarantee that the work product of the commission and the perception of the work product of the commission reflects the needs of the UMASS black community.

13. Other Isms:

I recommend that, where appropriate, UMASS extend these recommendations to the other "isms" on the campus, but that it not allow racism to be eclipsed by other social concerns.^{22/}

14. Authority:

I recommend that someone with sufficient authority--other than the Chancellor--be assigned specific responsibility

^{22/} Because the incident under investigation is specifically a black/white incident, this report is so restricted. That does not mean that the University has no other problems. In fact I interviewed three hispanic students who told me that they were experiencing severe problems of prejudice.

for resolving problems described in this report. That person must be concerned, accountable and powerful enough to effect change in the operational structure of the university. I do not doubt the philosophical commitment of the Chancellor. It is clear, however, that his philosophical commitment dissipates at levels just below him where the responsibility for converting that philosophy to action should reside.^{23/} (And I do not mean to imply that the Chancellor should have any less authority over that person than he normally would have.)

15. Other Recommendations:

I recommend that whoever that authority is review the recommendations in this report, along with other recommendations in the ADL report, those implied in the student demands and those contained in documents provided to me by the Civility Commission. That person should decide on the merits of the recommendations and convert them to action where appropriate.

16. Periodic Review:

Finally, I recommend that the authority and the Civility

^{23/} To complicate matters, there appears to be an imperfect division of responsibility between the Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs and the Dean of Student Affairs. The consequence of that imperfection is that most people on campus are uncertain which person is responsible for addressing many of the problems raised in this report. Consequently, many well-meaning people who want to participate in changing UMASS cannot.

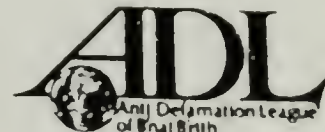
Commission complete a periodic review and report on the progress of the implementation of the recommendations in this report and that copies of that review be made available to the Chancellor, Board of Trustees, Board of Regents and interested members of the UMASS population.

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ATTACHMENT A

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

New England Regional Office, 72 Franklin Street, Suite 504, Boston, MA 02110 • (617) 542-4977



December 15, 1986

Commissioner Frederick A. Hurst
HCAD
145 State Street, Suite 506
Springfield, MA 01103

Dear Rick,

The following are a series of specific recommendations we believe you should consider including within your report.

Attached to the recommendations is the report Sally Greenberg submitted based on her broad based fact-finding report.

We remain available to support you in your important task.

Sincerely,

Leonard Zakim
Executive Director

Sally Greenberg
Civil Rights Director

LZ/db

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on our fact finding report, and our experience in dealing with civil rights, we have prepared a set of recommendations which would, if implemented, address the problems of racial unrest at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

1. College presidents should bring together divergent student body representatives to discuss relevant issues - on a regular basis - in the form of a student Civility Commission, separate from the Chancellor's Civility Commission.
 2. Apolitical programs devoted to dialogue or presentations about the agenda of different groups should be developed and coordinated by a student coalition.
 3. All faculty advisors to relevant student groups should meet with school chancellors, appropriate deans, and ADL/MCAD to assess their role, potential and actual, and how to evaluate effectiveness of advisors, criteria for appointing advisors, role of advisors, and programming possibilities.
 4. Guidelines on racial and religious conflict, problems, holiday celebrations, harassment, and grievance procedures must be promulgated and widely disseminated in a visible way to the public.
 5. Everyone seemed to agree that the campus police were a problem - they need to be sensitized and better trained to cope with racial and religiously sensitive law enforcement problems. Their poor reputation does not contribute to the overall environment on campus and should be addressed right away.
- We recommend a complete retraining of all U-Mass police, security personnel, dorm residents re: civil rights laws, harassment and grievance procedures, vandalism/discipline procedure - done in conjunction with ADL/ Attorney General Civil Rights Division and MCAD involved. There should be two to three programs in spring semester - mandatory attendance - then programs at least once a year for returning police, dorm residents, security personnel. A specially trained unit should be established for community disorders.
6. Specific civil rights programs for athletic department administrators, staff, faculty supervisors, ticket distributors should be implemented.
 7. Training of Amherst/Northampton police on racial matters

communication with U-Mass police and administrators, with the ADL, MCAD, and the Attorney General's Office should begin immediately.

8. A student hotline should be set up to monitor incidents that might go unreported - or a student "advocate's office" to provide legal counsel related to civil rights.

9. Mandatory orientation programs must include a forum on University diversity, responses to "isms", (sexism, racism, et.al.) and guest speakers. The need for understanding and tolerance on campus between people of different ethnic backgrounds, discussions of what to do if one witnesses an incident, of school code on these matters, and of state and federal regulations on violence of a religious and ethnically motivated nature must be a strong component of these programs.

10. Affirmative action and student recruitment personnel should be familiar with specifics of student body diversity and report to the Civility Commission. Assess the benefits of what the school has in place right now - the Challenge program, the career counseling program, the recruiting in high schools, the Human Relations office, the CCEBMS' function and its effectiveness in recruiting and keeping minorities.

11. The University should look into potential allocation of percentage of athletic fees towards funding anti-prejudice effort.

12. Look into U-Mass-Amherst vendor selection policy - minority contracting - hiring practices for student events - dorm hall residents, etc.

13. ADL/MCAD should make a presentation before U-Mass-Amherst Board of Trustees, and Board of Regents on U-Mass issues with general recommendations from other schools.

14. Full review of Civility Commission- purpose and program -selection by chancellor - reporting mechanisms - funding, visibility, or lack thereof, etc. Is it living up to expectations, does it have a regular agenda, is it effective when a crisis does occur?

15. The student code: grievance procedures need to be reviewed, punitive procedures need to be clearly understood, the Student Court system should be assessed for its effectiveness

16. Are faculty and administration advised of Jewish and

other relevant religious holidays and is religious leave freely granted?

FIVE COLLEGE COORDINATION

These suggestions can eventually become part, along with other programs, of the five-school consortium effort to work together in a fight against the "ISMS" which plague human relations -sexism, racism, anti-semitism, and so on.

LZ/SG/db

NEW ENGLAND REGIONAL OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
of B'NAI B'RITH
72 Franklin Street, Suite 504, Boston, Mass. 02110

Memorandum

To: Len Zakim
From: Sally Greenberg
Date: December 9, 1986
Subject: U-Mass-Amherst - Racial Tensions

After our meeting with MCAD Commissioner Fred Hurst, who was recently appointed by U-Mass-Amherst Chancellor Joseph Duffey to investigate the recent racial melee and related problems at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, I traveled to the University to supplement his investigation with additional fact finding. This trip was done in consultation with Hurst, as we discussed.

With ADL's experience in intergroup relations, we hoped to ascertain the best methods for confronting the racial problems at U-Mass-Amherst. I was able to represent ADL's purpose on campus with little difficulty. During the course of the day I met with Hillel Rabbi Sol Perlmutter who brought me into a meeting with the three other chaplains on campus - Father Joe Quigley, Chris Carlyle, an Episcopal Minister, and Esther Harges, a Protestant Minister. I also met with Grant Ingle, assistant to Judy Davis in the U-Mass Human Relations Office, and Larry Moneta, who is one of two people charged with the management of the entire Residence Hall system for the 11,500 students who live in the dorms. I also spent a good deal of time at the Massachusetts Daily Collegian, meeting with Editor in Chief Dode Levinson (whose father is Hillel Rabbi at Northeastern University), the paper's managing editor, and the reporter who actually covered the racial incidents for the paper.

BACKGROUND: The history of racial and religious tension on U-Mass is instructive. You were involved in the anti-Semitic incidents of 1982-83 when a Jewish girl found spattered red paint and "We Kill Jews" written outside her dorm room. U-Mass. Chancellor Joseph Duffey was responsive to the recommendations of ADL and other groups at that time. As a result, the University has the Civility Commission in place, along with an office of Human Relations, an affirmative action outreach program, training for dorm supervisors, and other mechanisms. Yet it seems that several unsettling racial incidents over the last three years have marred the record of the University and generated a sense of mistrust and anger among minority students which is regarded as not unreasonable by the white or Jewish students with whom I

spoke. The most notable incident involved a Black student, Yvette Henry, who was allegedly suspended without a hearing when she was suspected of arson.

Henry sued the University and reportedly reached a settlement, not the first such one paid out by the University, as a result of suits brought against it or its Campus Police who are said to have a poor reputation for handling racially sensitive matters.

Other incidents leading up to the recent fracas, suggest that underlying racial animosities on the U-Mass-Amherst Campus have been festering and occasionally erupting, culminating in the recent racial brawl which by some estimates was predictable.

RECENT INCIDENT: The current incident which has gained our attention and that of the New York Times and countless other newspapers erupted in one of the residence halls where up to 1200 people had apparently gathered after the loss of the World Series by the Red Sox to the New York Mets.

The allegiances were allegedly these: The Red Sox are considered by many to be a "white" team, a team "for the red neck and the bigot". The Mets, on the other hand, are regarded by many to be the "Black team".

These characterizations, for what they're worth, contribute to a fuller understanding of events that occurred on October 28, at 12:30 a.m. when Black student Yancey Robinson was badly beaten by a gang of white students. These students were reportedly burning paper, throwing bottles, and breaking windows, and, according to the victim, chased him and eventually knocked him unconscious with kicking and beating with sticks and poles. Robinson was later treated for a twisted kneecap, abdominal injuries, and cuts and bruises. The Red Sox had lost - their supporters were angry.

Robinson was targetted when some white students confused him with someone else, accusing him of hitting a white student. Ten students were injured in this fracas, two of them Black, according to the Collegian, the school's daily paper.

The University's mechanism for dealing with crowd control, let alone racial incidents, was not upgraded or beefed up nor were precautionary security measures taken, despite daily reports throughout the World Series games about racial incidents. Had the University hierarchy had its eyes open, or better yet, had a system been in place to report the problems up the ladder, to the top university officials, it

might have anticipated violence and dispatched more than 10 - 12 police for 1200 students, police who were not even the regular force, but simply "guards and watchmen", who, according to Chancellor Duffey, were "not trained in crowd control...and were there to protect property only."

The responses which followed this outbreak came from many sources. Chancellor Joseph Duffey addressed 400 minority students who convened several days after the brawl to discuss their fear and anger about the incident and its overall message that racism on campus is real and threatening. Chancellor Duffey issued a letter to all students in the residences warning them that "... violence will not be tolerated and persons identified as performing acts of violence will be severely punished." The Chancellor's office also urged anyone with specific information to contact the University Police.

A week after the incident, Chancellor Duffey also brought onto campus two baseball players, Mookey Wilson, a New York Mets outfielder who is Black, and Marty Barrett, a Boston Red Sox player who is white. Barrett and Wilson spoke before 700 students, condemning racism and racial violence.

Duffey and Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs Dennis Madson promised that the administration will be beefing up security on campus and that anti-racism education would be improved through forums and teach-ins.

The undergraduate Student Senate sent a letter to the office of Public Safety, the office of the Chancellor, and the office of the Dean of Students, which read in part: " We feel that the events that took place on October 29, 1986 were of racial intent. We do not, and will not, tolerate such violent actions of abuse such as those taken against two Black students." The caucus asked for immediate dismissal from the University of those persons involved in initiating the racial violence and compensation for those injured.

Chancellor Duffey has made it clear that whoever committed the violence has broken the law and will have to face criminal charges under the Massachusetts code prohibiting violations of civil rights. This may well make the disclosure of such persons difficult, which is why a "tipsters" advertisement was placed in the paper to promote the apprehension of these persons.

Unfortunately, the school's public safety director Gerald O'Neil, made a statement early on that the incident was not "racially motivated".

In response to O'Neil's remark, another group of players in this ordeal, the Third World Caucus, which represents the activist minority student population, condemned that statement and has remained active in pressing for reforms at the school.

Other organs in place on campus for increasing minority representation and involvement include the Committee for the Collegiate Education of Black and Minority Students (CCEBMS) founded in 1967 by a group of Black faculty as an academic support program for assistance in recruitment, tutorials, assistance with placement in graduate schools and academic and personal counseling. They encourage student involvement in the third world programs on campus such as the Black Student organization, the minority literary magazine, the Black Mass Communications Projects, and other "third world" student programs.

The Office of Human Relations on campus run by Judy David and Grant Ingle, deals with issues of racism, sexism, anti-Semitism, homophobia, etc., by setting up meetings and programs to deal with long-term problems as well as short. It provides a place for those with complaints on these matters to go and have their complaints addressed in a coordinated fashion as the human relations staff is connected with the other entities in the U-Mass structure. They hold a biweekly forum to exchange information and ideas on a wide range of issues, including social issues in the residence halls, anti-Semitism, dealing with handicapped individuals, the consequences of being gay, and the like.

The Civility Commission which was established in the wake of the anti-Semitic incidents of several years ago is made up of faculty with several student representatives, including the editor of the school newspaper. Organized to meet regularly, it has not really done so. The Civility Commission met with Commissioner Hurst to discuss the racial incidents on the day I visited. Some members of the Commission believe the administration is less concerned with racism than with anti-Semitism, and has not responded adequately to racial problems.

There are clergy representing Catholic, Episcopalian, and Jewish faiths which service those students who seek out a relationship with their religious representative. Their involvement in secular or racial issues is unclear; they are a valuable resource and should be used.

The Nummo News is a publication which is a mouthpiece for the minority community - it was to have been published

weekly but unfortunately has published only once this semester.

The Challenge program is a small-scale effort to go into 7 high schools around the Boston area and recruit minority students - this part of the CCEBMS work run by Rudy Jones on the U-Mass campus, and is a small but creative program.

As for the white student population and its involvement in fighting racism, anti-Semitism and the like, it appears that there is a polarization, not terribly surprising on a campus of this size, between students who are left of center and very activist and may be associated with the Radical Student Union (RSU), and the students who are not necessarily right wing but who have been described to me as "anti-radical". For example, there are students who may not approve of the CIA, but don't support banning them from recruiting on campus. Then, of course, there is a definite conservative core of white students who demonstrate animosity toward the liberal programming which is in bloom on the campus - they tend to be vocally anti-affirmative action, anti-gay, and espouse a certain conservative line similar to what you would find from a conservative ideologue. A conservative newspaper entitled The Minuteman comes from this camp and is said to receive support, financial and moral, from the conservative think tank in Washington D.C., the Heritage Foundation. Indeed, at Dartmouth College, the conservative students and newspaper on that campus was also alleged to have received support from the Heritage Foundation.

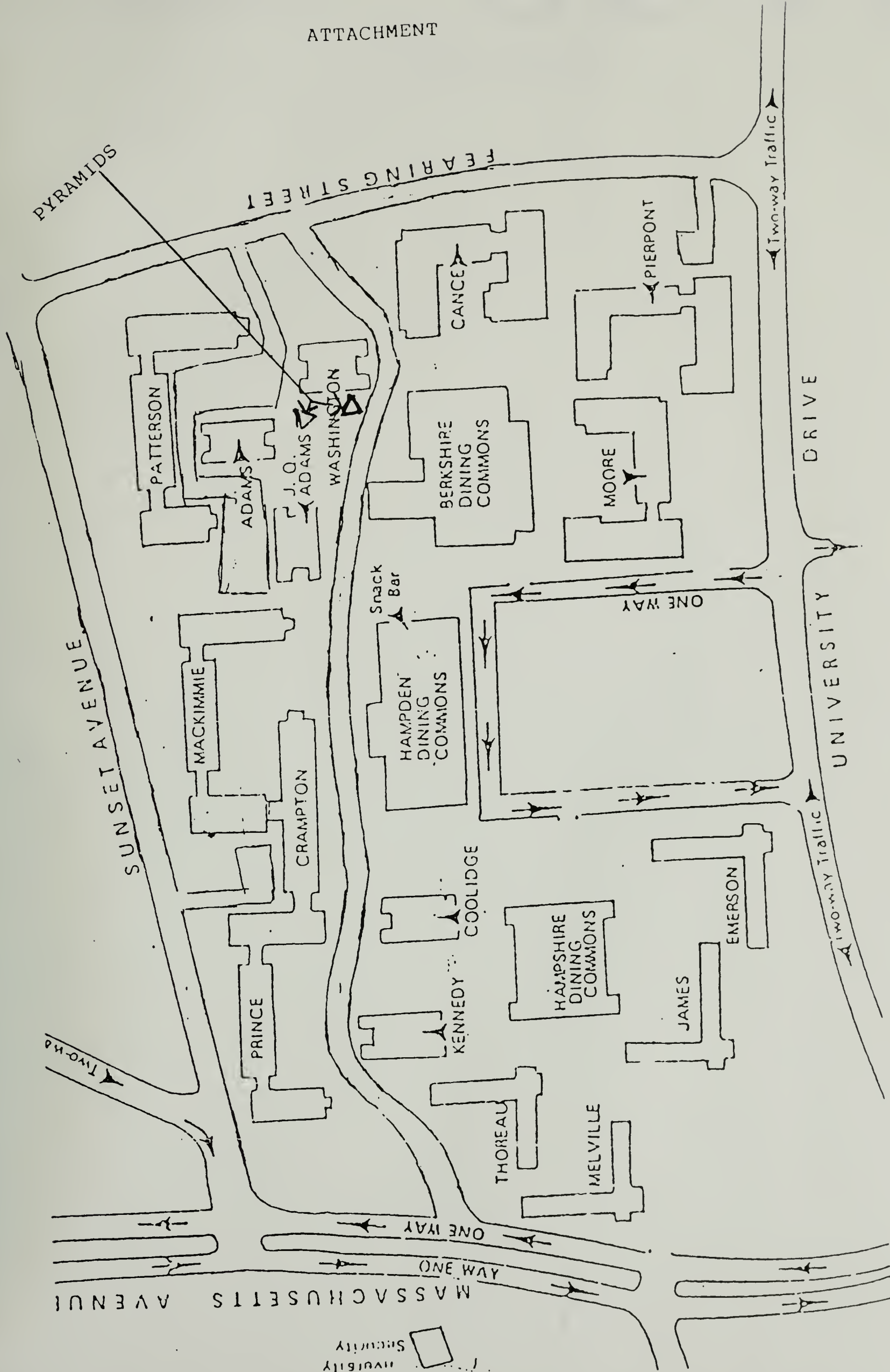
The conservative student movement has gained power in the last several years by changing the pattern whereby only liberal students would run for student offices. The Conservative students have gained a foothold in student politics and therefore have been more vocal, powerful, and a larger presence than in previous years.

The training for resident advisors in the dorms is, at present, remarkably attuned to racial and religious concerns. Unfortunately, when the incidents occurred during the World Series Games, culminating in violence, the training and apparatus supposedly in place didn't work. Why not? There must be a better method for dorm resident advisors, trained as they are, to communicate with the police, with the administration, and with others who could help in an emergency. Discipline and regulations should be reassessed. Security on campus should be addressed.

Ultimately, pursuant to a discussion you initiated with Governor Michael Dukakis, the ADL would like to convene a

meeting with Commissioner Hurst and the Regents of the State University System of Massachusetts, to develop a coordinated plan which will implement proposals set out above to help prevent the kind of incidents occurring last month on the U-Mass campus from erupting again.

SG/db



4/1 - 1982

Duffy, Joseph

"Hurst Report"

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